

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 MOGADI 00509 131215Z
ACTION SS-25

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FM AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 5967

S E C R E T MOGADISCIO 0509

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: PBOR, MOPS, SO, ET, UR
SUBJ: PERPLEXITIES ON THE HORN

REF: STATE 063496

1. SIAD IS CONCERNED OVER THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL SITUATION, BUT HE IS ALSO PERPLAXED BY WHAT HE SEES AS CONFUSING SIGNALS FROM THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT. AS I ATTEMPTED TO POINT OUT EARLIER, SIAD IS LOOKING FOR A TANGIBLE SIGN OF US SUPPORT, A SIGN OF GOOD WILL THAT HE CAN SHOW TO HIS PEOPLE. IN RETURN FOR HIS AGREEMENT TO WITHDRAW, HE CLEARLY UNDERSTANDS WE INTRODUCED NEW CONDITIONS TO THE OFFER TO SUPPLY DEFENSIVE ARMS. UNTIL HE HAS A MORE POSITIVE SIGNAL FROM US, HE DOES NOT EXPECT HE WILL EVINCE MUCH ENTHUSIASM FOR ANY OF THE DIPLOMATIC OR ECONOMIC MEASURES WE HAVE PROPOSED, OR ARE IN THE PROCESS OF IMPLEMENTING. ON THE OTHER HAND HE HAS NOT OPPOSED THESE ACTIONS, AND I DOUBT HE WILL DO SO. I BELIEVE HE IS SCEPTICAL, BUT IF THE UNSC CAN PRODUCE A CEASEFIRE, AND MANDATES OBSERVERS TO PREVENT RETRIBUTION AND OVERSEE THE WITHDRAWAL, I THINK THERE IS A GOOD CHANCE HE WILL GO ALONG WITH IT. I RECOMMEND, THEREFORE, THAT WE PROCEED VIGOROUSLY IN THE UNITED NATIONS ALONG THE LINES SET FORTH IN STATE 063447.

2. FROM ALL INDICATIONS AVAILABLE TO ME, SIAD'S REMARKS

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ABOUT THE SMOOTH WITHDRAWAL IN THE SOUTH ARE ACCURATE. WE RECHECKED WITH OUR MOST DEPENDABLE INDEPENDENT SOURCE THIS MORNING, AND HE WAS ABLE TO ADD INFORMATION THAT THE DECISION TO WITHDRAW IN THE SOUTH WAS ACTUALLY TAKEN BEFORE SIAD'S TRIP TO LIBYA. OUR SOURCE FELT THE SITUATION IN THE NORTH MORE DIFFICULT, AND REPEATED HIS EARLIER CONCLUSION THAT UNITS THERE FACED CORRESPONDINGLY TOUGHER

PROBLEMS IN EXFILTRATING THEMSELVES. OUR SOURCE ADDED THAT THE SOMALIS HAVE SOME FORMER AIR DEFENSE UNITS, AND SOME TANKS THAT WERE OFF THE LINES FOR REPAIR, NOW IN POSITION IN KEY AREAS ALONG THE NORTHERN BORDER, AND WOULD AT LEAST BE ABLE TO CONTEST A CROSSING. HE ADDED THAT THEY MIGHT NOT BE ABLE TO HOLD FOR VERY LONG IN THE FACE OF A DETERMINED DRIVE. I THINK THAT IS A REASONABLE PICTURE OF THE MILITARY SITUATION ON THE GROUND. AT ONE POINT IN THE CONVERSATION YESTERDAY, SIAD SEEMED TO BE SAYING THAT THE CUBANS AND SOVIETS WERE NOT PUSHING THEIR MILITARY ADVANTAGE. WHEN REQUESTED HE RETRACTED THAT POINT, BUT I AM NOT CONVINCED THAT THE FIRST WAS NOT ACCURATE. IN OTHER WORDS, I SUSPECT PERHAPS THE CUBANS AND SOVIETS, THEIR PURPOSE ACCOMPLISHED, ARE NOT BEING AS BLOODTHIRSTY AS THEIR HOSTS WOULD LIKE THEM TO BE.

3. LET ME TOUCH ON REFUGEES SINCE THAT SUBJECT WAS MENTIONED IN REFTEL. SIAD TOLD ME THERE ARE THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES CROSSING INTO SOMALIA. HE SAID THERE ARE NOW 50,000 IN THE HARGEISA AREA, AND ABOUT 30,000 NEAR BORAMA WITH OTHERS AT INDETERMINATE POINTS ALONG THE BORDER. SIAD SAID A GSDR COMMITTEE HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED TO ERECT CAMPS AND PROVIDE RELIEF FOR THESE PEOPLE, BUT HE MADE NO APPEAL FOR ASSISTANCE. I REMINDED HIM WE WOULD BE RESPONSIVE TO HUMANITARIAN NEEDS.

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4. I HOPE THAT I HAVE ADEQUATELY ANSWERED THE TWO QUESTIONS POSED IN REFTEL. THAT BEING SAID, I DO NOT THINK THIS MESSAGE WOULD BE COMPLETE WITHOUT SOME OBSERVATIONS ON OUR POSITION IN SOMALIA. IT HAS DETERIORATED, AND THE TREND CONTINUES TO BE NEGATIVE. I HAVE TRIED IN PREVIOUS MESSAGES TO EXPLAIN WHY SIAD DOES NOT THINK AS WE DO. HIS FRAME OF REFERENCE ALONE WOULD BE SUFFICIENT UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES TO CAUSE DIFFICULTIES. IN THE PRESENT CONTEXT, HOWEVER, I MUST CONFESS I UNDERSTAND AT LEAST SOME OF HIS CONFUSION REGARDING OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. I AM MINDFUL THAT HE IS ATTEMPTING TO EXTRACT FROM US THE MAXIMUM HE CAN HOPE TO GET. WHAT HE OBVIOUSLY WANTS MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE IS THE PROMISE OF MILITARY HARDWARE, BUT I BELIEVE HE REGARDS THIS AS A FADING HOPE. IF DEFENSIVE ARMS ARE ATTAINABLE, THEN I BELIEVE HE WILL GO ALONG WITH ALMOST ANY OTHER PROPOSITION WE PUT TO HIM, AND WITH ENTHUSIASM. YESTERDAY HE IMPLIED HE WAS PREPARED TO GO SO FAR AS TO STEP DOWN -- FOR A SUCCESSOR HE WOULD NAME -- IF THE USG FELT IT NECESSARY THAT A MORE CONGENIAL LEADER HEAD THE GSDR. I BELIEVE THAT WAS ROLE PLAYING, AS WERE OTHER PORTIONS OF HIS REMARKABLY RELAXED PERFORMANCE. BUT I DO BELIEVE WE ARE GOING TO

HAVE SIAD BARRE TO DEAL WITH FOR AT LEAST THE IMMEDIATE
FUTURE IN SOMALIA.

5. WHETHER OR NOT I HAVE MADE MY POSITION CLEAR, I URGE
THE DEPARTMENT TO AUTHORIZE MY RETURN FOR CONSULTATION. I
THINK THIS WOULD BE A USEFUL STEP FOR A NUMBER OF REASONS.
I NEED A BETTER GRASP OF OUR PROPOSED COURSE ON THE HORN
THAN I NOW HAVE IN ORDER TO BEST CARRY OUT MY MISSION.
I DON'T THINK THERE IS ANYMORE I CAN USEFULLY CONVEY TO
SIAD IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS. I BELIEVE THAT MY EXPERIENCES
REPORTED FIRST HAND TO THE DEPARTMENT WOULD BE USEFUL IN
CONCERTING OUR POLICIES. I PROPOSE THE CONSULTATION BE
BRIEF, AND AM PREPARED TO DEPART ON THE 15TH IF AGREEABLE.

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6. I HAVE NOT REPEATED THIS MESSAGE TO THE REFTEL
ADDRESSEES IN VIEW OF MY REQUEST FOR CONSULTATIONS. THE
DEPT MAY WISH, HOWEVER, TO REPEAT THE FIRST FOUR PARA-
GRAPHS.
LOUGHRAN

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NNN

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